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Literary responses to Agincourt: the Allegories of *Le Pastoralet* and the *Quadrologue Invectif*

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Introduction

Allegorical narrative in the late Middle Ages is not only ubiquitous, it is also heterogeneous – it is a mixture of the courtly and the didactic, prose and verse, competent and less competent.¹ Not all medieval allegories are a ‘dramatic interaction of personified vices and virtues’, the technique behind many medieval morality plays and what we would recognise today as allegory.² In medieval rhetoric, personification and allegory were two distinct tropes.³ Quintillian, the classical writer most influential on medieval rhetoric, points to a wider concept of allegory as substitution of one thing for another, *translatio continuata*, rather than restricting the concept to personification.⁴ Moreover, medieval allegories often have shifting or multiple meanings; the complexities and variety of allegory used by poets is less explored than the allegory of theologians and the four levels of interpretation.⁵ This analysis of two allegorical responses to the situation in France post Agincourt (1215) focuses on their different exploitations of the possibilities of allegory.

It has been demonstrated that the general trend over the medieval period is a gradual move from personification to exemplification, so it is not surprising that neither of the fifteenth-century texts under consideration is a simple personification.⁶ Reading the little known and anonymous text *Le Pastoralet* alongside the rather better known *Quadriologue Invectif* by the fifteenth-century courtier and writer Alain Chartier, will reveal the different ways in which allegory was used and the different literary conventions exploited by each author.⁷ The underlying question is not so much why the authors chose to cloud their

analyses in allegorical terms (a question we cannot answer) as what the use of allegory allows them to do that the narrative chronicles of a Jean Froissart or a Jean Chartier could not.

Alain Chartier, born in Bayeux sometime between 1385 and 1395,⁸ describes himself in the prologue of the *Quadriologue Investif* as 'humble secrétaire du roi nostre sire et de mon très redoubté seigneur le régent'.⁹ The *roi* in question is Charles VI, the regent his son, the Dauphin, who took the title of Regent on 31 December 1418.¹⁰ Though this is the only evidence that Chartier functioned as a secretary for Charles VI as well as for the Dauphin it seems an accurate description of how he saw his task; only his humility can be questioned – and that too is a matter of rhetorical commonplace. Chartier was a prolific, and very politically engaged, writer, producing works in verse and prose, in French and in Latin. Among these were a number of (sometimes scathing) vernacular texts which reflect on the situation in France in a period when England often had the upper hand; here I will mention only two. In the immediate aftermath of Agincourt he wrote *Le Livre des Quatre Dames* (1416),¹¹ a debate poem in which four ladies discuss which one of them had been the most seriously affected by a recent and serious battle (though not named the battle is clearly that of Agincourt): one lady's lover had been killed; the second's lover was taken prisoner by the English;¹² the lover of the third is missing and the beloved of the fourth lady fled the battlefield. Here, as in the *Quadriologue*, Chartier shows an awareness that warfare and battle do not only affect the participating warriors. The *Quadriologue Investif* – a prose text presented as a discussion between four main interlocutors – was written a few years later, probably in 1422 when the state of France appeared, if anything, more precarious – at least until the death of Henry V of England on 31 August of that year. In 1418 the Dauphin had abandoned Paris and set up his own capital in Bourges. By 1422 he had been disinherited by the treaty between the kings of England and France, the Treaty of Troyes, and the marriage of Henry V to Catherine of France. France was effectively divided into three territories: one ruled by Henry V of England, another by the Duke of Burgundy, and the third by the Dauphin. Chartier, loyal to the Dauphin, was on the side of the Armagnacs but not blind to their faults. Chartier's *oeuvre* as a whole was widely copied, though all extant manuscripts date from after the death of the author in 1430.¹³ The *Quadriologue* itself survives in 51

manuscripts. The Battle of Agincourt is mentioned by name in the speech of one of the characters, Le Chevalier, who refers to 'la malheureuse bataille d'Agincourt' (trans. p. 89, ed. p. 45).

Le Pastoralet is an anonymous poem of over 9,000 lines surviving in only one manuscript,¹⁴ and has been described as 'rabidly pro-Burgundian in tone'.¹⁵ It seems to have been written shortly after the *Quadrilogue Invectif*, that is soon after the death of Henry V in 1422.¹⁶ The rubric at the beginning of chapter fourteen of *Le Pastoralet* refers to the Battle of Ruisseauville, another name for Agincourt also used in some French sources of the period.¹⁷ Dialectal features suggest it was written in Northern France, possibly originating in the circles surrounding the counts of St-Pôl.¹⁸

These two contemporaneous texts, the *Quadrilogue Invectif* and *Le Pastoralet*, contrast with each other: one in prose, the other in verse; one pro-Burgundian, the other equally anti-Burgundian; one surviving in a very large number of manuscripts, the other in a single copy. In modern reception neither has received the attention it deserves. The *Quadrilogue* is at least given some consideration within the wider context of Chartier's extensive *oeuvre*, with a few articles focussing more on the text itself.¹⁹ *Le Pastoralet* is largely ignored by modern literary critics and historians alike, despite a modern critical edition of the text. Both exploit the late medieval allegorical tradition(s) but in rather different ways. Although written some seven years after the Battle of Agincourt, and perhaps more directly as a response to the Treaty of Troyes,²⁰ it is evident that, as the most recent editor and translator of the *Quadrilogue Inverctif* expresses it, 'Azincourt est encore très present dans les esprits'.²¹

Making the Invisible Visible

The *Quadrilogue Invectif* is the better known of the two texts. Here Alain Chartier uses the dream framework most familiar to both medieval and modern readers of medieval allegory through the *Roman de la Rose*, a framework Chartier also exploited successfully in the more courtly context of his most famous poem *La Belle Dame sans merci*. Chartier sets up certain expectations for the reader, as he had done in

his *Livre des Quatres Dames*, where the framework, a melancholic Chartier reflecting on his own love, sets the poem up as though it were a 'straightforward poem about love';²² in the same way the dream allegory in the *Quadriologue* suggests a conventional courtly text. While dream poems for political and philosophical purposes were not unknown, the framework of the *Quadriologue*, where the narrator presents himself as being melancholic because of the state of the nation, echoing his love-sickness in both *La Belle Dame sans merci* and the *Livre des Quatres Dames*, suggests a context of courtly love poetry.²³ In the *Quadriologue*, as in both these courtly poems, Chartier exploits the convention of the overheard dialogue or debate, a conceit he much favoured, and one which can allow the narrator's voice to appear objective.²⁴ The poet-narrator may, however, also be an actor in the narrative: in the *Livre des Quatres Dames* he is asked to judge which of the ladies suffers most; the *Quadriologue* ends with France instructing the observer to write down and record the discussion.²⁵

In the opening section of his dream Chartier gives us an allegorical image within the allegorical narrative, literally an act of 'imagination', a visual representation of something that is not visible.²⁶ The narrator, half sleeping and half awake, sees a lady, the personified figure of France, in a land which is described as *en friche* – waste or fallow land.²⁷ As Daisy Delogu has pointed out in general terms, allegorical personification of France allowed a writer, in this case Chartier, to present a concept of a unified entity, made up of different parts, in a way that did not reflect the disunity of contemporary France.²⁸ We can see here a technique which will be even more obvious as we look in more detail at Chartier's allegory, namely a dissonance between the ideal, embodied in the concept of France as a lady, and the real, contemporary situation. Chartier's description of France invited visualisation and this is, indeed, often realized in manuscript illuminations.²⁹ We actually have in this figure three different pictures of France: first, the lady herself, described as being of noble appearance, but in a state of such distress that 'it seemed that she must have fallen from a higher state than that which her current appearance suggests',³⁰ her beautiful hair dishevelled and loose on her shoulders. Secondly, there is the land on which she stands, representing France in its wasted and unproductive state, an image which Florence Bouchet links to the Arthurian motif of the Waste Land.³¹ Thirdly, there is her robe or mantle.³² It is divided into three

sections, each representing one of the three estates of France, in hierarchical order.³³ The top section is described as:

D'ancienne brodeure enrichie de moult precieuses pierres, y estoient figurees les nobles fleurs de lis tout en travers semees de banieres, gonphanons et ensaignes des anciens roys et princes françois... (ed. pp. 10-11 ; translation, p.58)

[made of ancient embroidery, enriched with very precious stones; there were worked into it noble fleurs de lys, scattered all over banners, gonfanons and standards of former French kings and princes].³⁴

This evokes the image of the heraldic gown, not unusual in contemporary manuscript illuminations. The power of the image of the fleurs de lys at this time and particularly in the context of the Hundred Years War should not be underestimated. In support of his formal claim to the French throne in 1340 Edward III had quartered the arms of France before those of England.³⁵ By this time Charlemagne, the mythologised king of France, had been posthumously attributed arms which included the fleurs de lys and he was sometimes pictured in French manuscripts in *fleursdelisé* robes.³⁶ The fleur de lys, a symbol of the ruling house of France, was thus extended back in time to previous rulers, to emphasise continuity and, at the same time, associating the personal symbol of the ruler with the land over which he ruled. In most colour miniatures of the *Quadriologue* in which the lady is depicted the dominant colour of the mantle is blue, heraldic azure, closely resembling the robes often given to Charlemagne and other kings of France.³⁷

The second section of the robe was decorated with symbols of learning and represented the *clergie*:

Ou my lieu se monstroient entaillees lectres, carathères et figures de diverses sciences qui esclairoient les entendemens et adreçoient les œuvres des hommes (ed. p. 11, trans. p. 58).

[In the middle were inscribed letters, characters and various scientific symbols which in the past illuminated the understanding and guided the acts of men.]

The description of the robe ends with the bottom section where a rich and fertile land supports a variety of animals and plants:

A la partie d'embas, qui vers terre pendoit, assez pouoit on veoir pourtraitures entremeslees de pluseurs bestes, plantes, fruiz et semences tendans de leurs branches en hault et naissans de la brodeure d'embas comme de terre plantureuses et fertile (ed. p. 11, trans. p. 58).

[On the bottom section, which hung down to the ground, you could see depicted, all mixed up together, numerous animals, plants, fruits and seedlings, hanging down from the branches and sprouting up from the lower border as from a rich and fertile land].

It is only after the mind's eye has been allowed to recreate the robe in all its glory, and a sense of wonder has been evoked by the description of a work of art which is the result of long labour producing exceptional beauty (*'sous le soleil on ne vit son pareil'* -trans p. 58) that we discover that the *'excellence et la permanence d'une oeuvre si parfait'* displeased Fortune and that the robe is damaged:

Celluy mantel...estoit desja par violentes mains froisseez et derompuz, et aucunes pieces violentment arrachees, si que la partie de dessus se monstroist obscurcie et pou de fleurs de liz yapparisoient qui ne feussent debrisees ou salies. Ne demande nul se la partie moyenne estoit neantmoins demouree entiere ne conjointe, et les lectres formees et assises en leur ordre, car si separees, decharpies et desordonnees furent que pou s'en pouoit assembler qui portast profitable sentence. Mais si nous venons a parler de la basse partie, ceste chose seule en peut on dire que tant la veoit on usee, en gast et en destruction, par rudement frapper, tirer et detraîner, que en plusieurs lieux l'emprainte de la terre apparoit descouverte et les arbres et semences comme

desracinees, gectees et pendans au travers par paletaux, si que on n'y peust cognoistre ordonnance ne esperer fruit (ed. pp. 11-12, trans. pp. 58-59)

[This mantel ... had been damaged and torn, and some sections violently ripped, so that the upper section looked tarnished and there were few fleur de lys which were not broken or dirtied. Do not ask if the middle section was, nonetheless, entire and joined together and the letters well-formed and set out in order, for they were so separated, divided and disordered that few were put together in a way which made any sense. And as for the bottom section, you can only say that it was so worn, spoiled and destroyed by having been knocked about, dragged and pulled, that in places the image of the land was effaced so that the trees and seedlings looked as if pulled up by the roots, thrown aside and hanging in rags, so that no order could be recognised or any fruit expected.]

Moreover it is evident, despite the rather conventional reference to Fortune, that this damage is not accidental but wilful, wrought by 'violent hands'.³⁸ There is no indication here to whom these violent hands belong. The question of blame for the situation is only addressed when we come to the quadrilogue, or dialogue of four voices which follows.

When the narrative voice describes his state of mind at this time he reflects on the 'sort douloureux et l'état pitoyable de la noble et glorieuse maison de France' (trans p. 55). The palace on which the lady France is leaning, *a'puissant palais ancien*' (trans p. 59) is possibly both the royal house of France and the land itself, in the same way as we have noted that the fleurs de lys came to represent both the nation- state and the sovereign.³⁹ The sleeve of France's robe, covering the arm which supports the palace, bears the coat of arms of the Dauphin (fleurs de lys quartered with dolphins),⁴⁰ suggesting that all the hopes of the royal house and of France itself rest on the ability of the dauphin whose court at this time was in exile in Bourges – rather than that of the king. This can be linked to Chartier's description of himself as secretary to the king

and the dauphin: whether or not he held the office of secretary to the king he was surely fulfilling it by serving the Dauphin.

Already in the introduction of the main allegorical figure we can see that Chartier's text is more complex than one might think with its triple (or quadruple) imagining of the state of France. France's three sons are *le clergé*, *le peuple* and *le chevalier*. At once there is a noticeable difference in the nomenclature. There is, first, a difference in the way France and her sons are depicted: France is essentially an incarnation, or personification, of a concept, that of the nation;⁴¹ in depicting her sons, Chartier uses the rhetorical device of synecdoche, whereby a part represents the whole, or an individual represents a group;⁴² they are 'exemplifications', 'collective characters representative of a group and a particular set of concerns', a technique Chartier has also used effectively in the *Livre des Quatre Dames*.⁴³ In this picture Chartier has successfully, even seamlessly, combined the two main techniques of allegory. Even in the exemplified characters of the three sons there are differences. *Le clergie* and *le peuple* are collective nouns – the clergy and the people; *le chevalier* is not: it refers rather to the particular – the knight. Cynthia Brown has proposed a grammatical reason for this: the collective noun *la chevalerie* is feminine and in French allegorical texts the allegorical figure is normally given the same gender as the grammatical gender of the noun, so Chartier would have had to make his representative of knighthood a woman.⁴⁴ This may be part of the reason; one result of the different presentation of the figure of the Chevalier, who is subject to the most severe criticism by Chartier, is that, being particular rather than general, he is even less of an abstraction and more of an exemplification.

Another aspect of the exemplification technique is seen most clearly in the person of *le peuple*. Both the anonymous writer of *le Pastoralet* and Chartier show themselves capable of giving different voices to his characters, but Chartier does not here do so in any realistic way.⁴⁵ As Bouchet has demonstrated, while *clergé's* speech is characterized by being 'peppered with biblical expressions', the language of the other interlocutors is also 'steeped in biblical reference'.⁴⁶ The 'peuple' makes reference to Roman writers and to Scripture in a way that does not suggest an unlettered man; his rhetorical, complex and Latinate syntax is not simplified to suggest a less educated speaker.⁴⁷ If there is less apostrophe and exclamation in the

speech of *le peuple* than in that of France the difference lies in what he is saying which is less of a lament and more of a *apologia*, excusing himself, to some extent, and casting the blame on those who ill-treat the people. Chartier was a most accomplished writer so there is no reason to doubt that he could have individualised his characters.⁴⁸ It is rather that the three sons of France are both individualised representatives of their group, but also representations of an abstraction, namely the collective identity of France.

The process of cloaking reality, substituting real people by fictionalised characters, could be seen as the converse of making visible that which is invisible: hiding the visible. Unlike Chartier the author of *Le Pastoralet*, who calls himself Bucarius,⁴⁹ gives us a narrative account of the war in his poem of 9142 lines. Indeed, the first edition of the text was in a collection entitled *Chroniques relatives à l'histoire de la Belgique sous la domination des ducs de Bourgogne*,⁵⁰ suggesting it could be read as a chronicle account. The English invasion and Battle of Agincourt form only a small part of this narrative, three chapters out of 20 (chapters 13-15, ll. 5959-7044); the text is, moreover, far from being a straightforward chronological narrative. Like Chartier our anonymous poet refers to his text as a *traité* (l.23 *traittié nouvalet*). It is in fact more a *roman à clef avant la lettre* than what we would understand as allegory, though certainly allegorical in the medieval sense of substituting one thing or person for another.⁵¹ *Le Pastoralet* differs from the *Livre des Quatre Dames* in that 'Bucarius' gives us a partial key to his text towards the end of the poem. Major players in the political situation at the time are portrayed as shepherds and shepherdesses, exploiting a different courtly *topos* from Chartier's debate poetry. A pastoral setting for courtly poetry can be found from the twelfth century on, with the *pastourelle*, a kind of lyric poem in a bucolic setting in which, typically, a knight seduces, or attempts to seduce a shepherdess. In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries the pastoral tradition continued, in poems, for example by Jean Froissart or Christian de Pisan.⁵²

The names ascribed to the shepherd and shepherdesses in *Le Pastoralet* are themselves evocative and convey the poet's attitude without any explanation being necessary, with John the Fearless, Duke of Burgundy, going under the name of Léonet – implicitly crediting him

with the positive attributes of a lion – and Bernard, the Count of Armagnac, being called Lupal, thus associating him with the negative connotations of the wolf, one who may disguise himself also in sheep's clothing and is not to be trusted.⁵³ The followers of each are respectively the Léonais and the Lupalois. Similarly Charles VI is Florentin and the French 'la gent Florentin'; Henry V of England is Panalus and the English the Panalois. Not all the figures are 'translated' in the key at the end of the text but the main players are, and with them the main locations of the narrative.

Bucarius opens his poem with a statement of intent:

Je me vorroie moult pener	I would like to take great pains
De bien dire, se je sçavoie,	to speak well, if I can,
E de trouver couverte voie	and to find a hidden way
Sans apertement reveler	without revealing all clearly
Les fais de quoy je voel parler	[to speak] of what I wish
Qui bien sont digne de	Facts which are worthy of being
memore:	remembered:
Sy m'estoet laisser droite	So I will leave aside straight
histoire	history-telling
Et tourner aux flables couvertes	And turn to parables
Ou serront dittes et ouvertes	Where there will be said and
	uncovered
Les paix, les gherres et les tours	The peace, the wars and the
	direction [taken]
Des bergieres et de pastours	By shepherdesses and
	shepherds
Qui sont de haulte extraction.	Of noble lineage.
Ja en orrés la fiction	Now you will hear the fiction
Qui a bon droit les loiaux loe	Which rightly praises the loyal
Et les faulz desloiaux desloe...	and criticises the false and
	disloyal...

(ll.6-21)

Despite the rhetoric here and the claims of finding a 'hidden way' to tell the narrative, there is here no dissimulation – while the facts are hidden behind 'flables couvertes' – 'parables' or moral fables – the fiction of high born shepherds and shepherdesses is also made transparent. He

writes of facts which are 'digne de memore' – the language of the chronicle,⁵⁴ but does so in a way which makes them more memorable than straightforward narration.

Rather like Chartier the poet presents an allegorical image within his allegory, also using the dream topos, as Panalus (Henry V), newly arrived in France, has two dreams, warnings to which he pays no heed:⁵⁵ in one he sees Fortune, in a standard depiction of a lady with her eyes bound turning her wheel; in the second Pan tells him his wishes will be fulfilled but it has a morbid ending as he is thrown from a high place, a foreshadowing of Henry V's early death when he is at the height of his power.

The transfer of fact into fiction also allows the narrator to reiterate myths inherited from his sources without interrogating them.⁵⁶ We find, for example, some emphasis on the assumed love affair between Isabeau of Bavaria and her brother-in-law, Louis d'Orléans,⁵⁷ who is also the subject of other rumours picked up by our author: for example, the rumour that the king's madness is the result of poisoning administered by his own brother;⁵⁸ or that it was Louis who set fire to the dancers in the *bal des ardents* in 1393.⁵⁹ These are rumours found in other texts, including that of Froissart, and included without question in our text.⁶⁰ There are apparent 'errors' of fact,⁶¹ probably due to ignorance rather than distortion, as they do not bring glory to the Burgundians.⁶² Writing a 'fable couverte' rather than a chronicle he does not need to verify or support his 'facts'. Other changes appear to be for the sake of the structure of the bucolic narrative as well as for the propaganda effect realised.

At the beginning of this paper it was noted that France at this time was effectively in three parts, ruled by the King of England, the Duke of Burgundy and the Dauphin. The focus of the *Pastoralet* is for most of the text on the internal divisions of France. The English certainly figure – as the aggressors in the great battle – but not on an equal plane with the other two groups. Joël Blanchard considers that this is because the author wanted to create a binary opposition of war and peace to which one could add another: Burgundian or Armagnac. Blanchard does not consider the text to be primarily a work of propaganda but rather a work of fiction.⁶³ The two are not mutually exclusive. The omission of some details of the war, significant though they were, may well not have been

for reasons of propaganda – but rather in order that the pastoral narrative continued to work, to remove some of the complications and, as Blanchard contests, to reinforce the binary oppositions established.⁶⁴

Both texts create images for the reader that appear to cloak reality in fiction, but hide nothing, rather making concepts and ideas visible or engaging the reader in fictionalized narrative. They exploit different allegorical techniques to do so.

Contrasting the real and the ideal

The texts also exploit different conventions of courtly literature: Chartier, as we have noted, uses the dream framework and visualisation of France to create a picture of France which covers both the ideal, in the beauty of the lady herself and the complex tripartite mantle, and the real, in its torn and fallen condition. ‘Bucarius’ takes the pastoral setting of conventional poetry, but his narrative is far from the world of rural peace. The courtly resonances of this context are exploited in the presentation of the supposed amours of the Queen, Isabeau of Bavaria, and Louis of Orléans, her husband’s brother.⁶⁵ This begins with what appears to a dalliance during a courtly exchange, a poetry competition.⁶⁶ The setting could hardly be more idyllic, with the shepherds composing verses while the shepherdesses weave garlands of flowers. Appearing to present the couple as courtly lovers in the guise of shepherd and shepherdess, the text actually rather betrays the sordid nature of adulterous love.⁶⁷ The invasion of Henry V is also initially presented as an act of courtly love, that of a lover wooing Florimaie, the daughter of Florentin, that is Catherine of France, daughter of Charles VI. It is only later, after the Panalois (or English) have won the ‘great battle’ that we are told this was only a pretext to allow him to become ‘seigneur de pourpris’ lord of the enclosure’, the enclosure being, we are told in the key at the end of the text, France itself. Cloaking the political machinations within France and the threat from outside France in a pretext of romantic love sharpens the response of the reader. In fact, far from the fiction hiding the truth it dramatizes it while at the same time presenting us with idealized conventions which contrast with reality.

The Battle of Agincourt itself is recounted in chapter XIV of *Le Pastoralet*. For Blanchard the chapters dealing with the English invasion are a digression which 's'intègre[nt] mal dans une intrigue pastorale solidement organisée autour des luttes intestines du camp français'.⁶⁸ But it is this very awkwardness that marks out the section and in part at least creates the power of its narration. The fiction of shepherds and shepherdesses is maintained throughout the narrative of the battle; it is a sustained 'translation' from the real to the fictional. In the fighting the weapons are agricultural implements, in an inversion of the Biblical prophecy of Isaiah (Isaiah 2:4), 'they will beat their swords into ploughshares':

Or sont les batailles rengies
 Ou les houles noeves forgies
 Au cler soleil tant fort reluissent
 Qu'il samble que doy soleil
 luisent.
 Tant hoq y a de fin achier

Et tant fort arc en main
 d'archier,
 Tant baston de pommier
 sauvage,
 Tante croche de fier ouvrage,
 Tant jupel, tant chapel doublé,
 Dont ly pastour sont affublé,
 E aultre harnois bergerin,
 Que n'en sçay le conte enterin...
 (vv. 6425-36)
 Main a main voelent fort ferir
 De hocs aux pointes amourees
 Et de ces houles acerees

Now are the battalions drawn up
 the recently forged hoes
 shining brightly in the sun
 So that it seemed as if two suns
 were shining
 There were so many billhooks
 of fine steel
 so many strong bows in the
 hands of archers,
 so many sticks made of wild
 apple tree
 So many hooks of fine
 workmanship
 So many tunics, so many
 doubled caps
 which the shepherds were
 arrayed in,
 with other shepherding
 implements
 that cannot be told completely
 hand to hand they wish to strike
 well
 Billhooks sharpened
 Hoes of steel

En amenant de hault en bas Grans cops a la force des bras.	Brought from high to low With great blows by the strength of arm.
Chascuns de houle qui bien taille,	Each who can cut well with hoes
Fiert et refiert maille et remaille	Strikes and strikes again, hammering repeatedly
Son anemi par tel vertu Que maint bergier sont abatu	his enemy, with such strength that many shepherds are brought down
Sus l'erbe ou pré qui est ja tainte	On the grass, which is thus stained
De sang par la mortele atainte. (vv. 6472-82) ⁶⁹	with mortal blood.

What this does is bring into sharper focus the horror of war as the language of the epic battle, such as might be found in a *chanson de geste* or vernacular chronicle, is combined with that of the pastoral lyric, the idyll of the pastoral contrasting with the bloodshed of reality, a setting associated with idyllic courtoisie becoming a field of battle. Unlike many of the chapters of this text, chapter XIV, with its account of the 'Battle of Roussaville', does not begin with a reminder of the *locus amoenus* of the pastoral setting,⁷⁰ but with a line which is only distinguished from an epic formula by its short length (*chansons de geste* are written in lines of 10 or 12 syllables):

Bataille grant et aduree (l. 6355).

The line is, moreover, at the beginning of a chapter and functions rather like the *vers d'intonation* of a *laisse* in a *chanson de geste*, announcing the action. The contrast between the romantic pretext and the political reality, and between pastoral fiction and the bloody battle, in each case makes the reality lying behind the fiction more disturbing. This text is not so much a balancing of the 'familiar with the strange',⁷¹ as a disturbing collision of two different realms, each familiar, in that they are conventional, but normally strange to one another, having nothing to do with each other. In her study of medieval allegory Quilligan comments that 'even if a reader has never heard about pastoral...as soon as he reads of shepherds behaving in very unshepherdlike ways (singing complicated songs about love), he will begin to recognize that part of

the purpose of the work ...is the contrast between such behaviors – rustic simplicity versus sophisticated complexity’.⁷² *Le Pastoralet* adds to that another contrast, particularly in this section about Agincourt, that between the rustic peace of the pastoral lyric and the violent war of epic.

In the *Clergie*’s response in the *Quadrilogue Invectif* Chartier makes the same point, evoking the idyllic pastoral life in contrast to the ‘etat et infélicités of princes’ (trans. p. 101). He also alludes to the prophesy of Isaiah, contrasting the Biblical prophecy of future peace with the reality of war. His *peuple* evokes the ‘soc tourné en glaive mortel’, in what amounts to a lamentation of the condition of labourers in war-torn France.⁷³ This image, evoked by Chartier, is developed as the basis of the narrative by ‘Bucarius’.

Chartier is perhaps the more optimistic of the two as he offers some hope – voiced by the *Clergie* – Chartier’s own group – who gives advice on how to behave in a way that will empower France again.⁷⁴ Writing of five of Chartier’s texts, *Le Quadrilogue Invectif*, *Le Curial*, *Le Livre des Quatre Dames*, *Le Livre de l’Espérance* and the *Belle Dame sans Merci*, Douglas Kelly concludes that the ‘reader is confronted inexorably with the choice between the Ideal and its corruption in practice’.⁷⁵ This has been noted in the visual presentation of France in the *Quadrilogue* and is particularly powerful in this text, where the interlocutors (the Chevalier, the Peuple and the Clergie), and the targets of Chartier’s criticism, are also addressed in idealised terms in the prologue, where praise is offered to ‘la très haute et excellente majesté des princes... la très honorée magnificence des nobles... la circonspection des clerks et... la bonne industrie du peuple français’, using rhetorical conventions which in retrospect highlight how far from this ideal the different strata of French society were.⁷⁶

Transcending the Immediate

Allegory engages the reader, using the established tools of the medieval imagination for political ends. Chartier appropriated for political use conventions of courtly dream allegory; ‘Bucarius’ used the pastoral scene to shock as much as to engage – the language of courtly love revealed to be nothing more a depiction of adultery; the

ploughshares turned to swords suggesting an anti-war agenda. We often have a tendency to consider the medieval period, even as it reaches its close, as one in which war is glorified as the activity of the chivalrous. For this period our understanding of the mentality which seeks to uphold the principles of chivalry, inextricably linked with violence, is perhaps over influenced by the writings of that great chronicler, Jean Froissart. In both these allegorical texts we find a different perspective, which was perhaps that of the clerkly class.

The allegory is the sugar which sweetens the pill. Both authors take pains to draw moral lessons from the contemporary situation. This is evident in the *Quadrilogue Invecitif* from the first sentences in the prologue where, having addressed the three estates, the princes and nobles, the *clercs* and the people, Chartier immediately attributes France's former glory to divine power and ascribes its fall, 'leur fin et leur detriment' (ed. p. 3), to a sentence handed down by divine wisdom, and goes on to list such communal sins as pride and ingratitude. As much as the poet of *Le Pastoralet*, Chartier's language is imbued with biblical resonance. This also gives greater moral authority to what he is saying.⁷⁷ Indeed, Chartier's framework is designed to at once give an impression of greater objectivity, as the lessons are drawn by France in his dream and he is simply following instructions to write down her words, and to give greater authority to what he is saying. It is perhaps ironic that it would be the English in particular who would later appropriate this text originally addressed to the French and thus demonstrate that the lessons it presents were transferable, could transcend the immediate situation for which they were written.⁷⁸

The poet of *Le Pastoralet* is also particularly concerned to draw moral lessons from his narrative, and thus transcend the political.⁷⁹ His care to ensure that the political lesson is understood, seen in his provision of a key to the text, may, however, be the reason that his work was not to know the same international success as that of Chartier.

Conclusion

I opened by asking what allegory can do that chronicle and treatise cannot. In these cases allegory does not hide the truth:⁸⁰ the anonymous author of *Le Pastoralet* gives us a 'key' to understanding the key actors

in his drama; Chartier's technique could certainly be described as making 'the invisible visible'.⁸¹ Chartier's text is many-layered. What can he achieve through this figurative analysis that could not be done through analytical discourse? His choice to write this text in French and his use of a framework which would not be unfamiliar to the courtly world may be the answer. He sets up expectations which he then subverts as he provides a different kind of text, challenging the reader to respond. He can also present the reader with both the ideal, in his prologue, in the initial description of France and her mantle, before confronting us with the reality. Finally in the quadrilogue itself the interlocutors, in particular the Chevalier and the people, are condemned by France rather than Chartier. Marchello-Nizia, in her analysis of three other political dream texts, suggests that where a writer is challenging the social order it may be better to give the impression it is dream. The *Quadrilogue* is transparent, but the dream narrative does provide a rather useful framework, shifting the authority from Chartier himself to the allegorized figure of France.⁸²

If Chartier is the more accomplished writer that should not hide the fact that the author of *Le Pastoralet* also knew how to harness literary conventions of the time to engage the reader, to draw them in, and then to shock by the violence of his descriptions. Both texts use literary techniques which give the appearance of distancing the author from the material being discussed. The form of courtly debate, and indeed of the dream, gives an impression of objectivity, even if the text is, in fact, partisan. The pastoral setting of *Le Pastoralet* also suggests a literary conceit which invites emotional detachment. Both texts use a framework which sets up an expectation of a light, courtly, even playful game, an expectation which is then undermined. Both texts use the power of imagery polemically, presenting the disastrous consequences of the disunity of France. While they support different factions (and therefore blame different protagonists) there is in each a clear call for unity. In Chartier the unity is across the different Estates of France, all too ready to blame each other; in *Le Pastoralet* the author shows the need for those within one class not to be disunited. Chartier came from the clerical class and his text is imbued with biblical teaching, with an understanding that God was teaching the people of the French a lesson.⁸³ The language and approach of the author of *Le Pastoralet*, like

Chartier at pains to draw moral lessons from the political situation, suggest that he too may have belonged to the *clergie*, or at least had clerical training. Thus while each is addressing a specific political situation in France they are writing not only for that context.

Cynthia Brown has referred to a 'late medieval tendency to allegorize moments of crisis in order to understand and overcome them'.⁸⁴ Both these allegorical responses to Agincourt are precisely that, written, according to France's injunction to the dreaming author/narrator in the *Quadriologue*, '*afin que [les paroles] demeurent fructueusement en mémoire*'⁸⁵ (that the words may remain fruitfully in the mind) engaging in France's troubles by the pen rather than the sword. Allegory in each case, however, also allows the author to transcend the specifics he is addressing and to present a message for all time – in each case a text which proposes unity rather than division as an answer to political instability and a state in stasis. Both texts as a consequence, while being written as a response to the conflict between England and France, concentrate on the internal conflicts, as only a resolution within France can address its external threats; this is explicit in the discourse of France in Chartier's *Quadriologue*. The bucolic idyll of *Le Pastoralet* contrasts with the bloody reality of war; the beauty of France and her highly decorated gown, contrasts with its current damaged condition. In each case much of the power of the work comes from the contrast between an ideal or idyllic scene and the reality of contemporary France.

Notes

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- 1 The heterogeneous nature of allegory may explain why it is not normally considered a genre so much as a mode; compare A. Fletcher, *Allegory: the Theory of a Symbolic Mode* (Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 1964) and M. Quilligan, *The Language of Allegory: Defining the genre* (Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 1979), especially pp. 13-24.
 - 2 C.J. Brown, 'Allegorical Design and Image-making in fifteenth-century France: Alain Chartier's Joan of Arc', *French Studies*, 53 (1999), 385-404 (p. 387).
 - 3 I. Bishop, *Pearl in its Setting: A Critical Study of the Structure and Meaning of the Middle English Poem* (Oxford, Blackwell, 1968), pp. 62-65.

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- 4 Ian Bishop uses this wider definition of allegory in his study, *Pearl*; see especially p. 63; Quintillian, *Institutio Oratoria*, VIII, vi, 44; Quintillian, *The Orator's Education, Books 6-8*, ed. and trans D.A. Russell, The Loeb Classical Library 126 (Cambridge, Massachusetts, Harvard University Press, 2001), pp. 450-459 (p. 450).
 - 5 For the distinction between the allegory of theologians and the allegory of the poets, a distinction articulated by Dante (*Convivio*, II.1) see I. Bishop, *Pearl in its Setting: A critical study of the Structure and Meaning of the Middle English poem* (Oxford, Blackwell, 1968), pp. 49-50; on the use of allegory in medieval poetry see also D. Kelly, *The Medieval Imagination* (Madison, University of Wisconsin Press, 1978).
 - 6 J.V. Fleming, *The Roman de la Rose: A Study in Allegory* (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1969) p. 30; D.W. Robertson, *A Preface to Chaucer* (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1962), pp. 231-33; both cited in Kelly, *Medieval Imagination*, p. 178.
 - 7 *Le Pastoralet*, ed. J. Bouchard (Rouen, Publications de l'Université de Rouen, 1983); *Le Quadrilogue Invecitif*, ed. F. Bouchet (Paris, Champion, 2011).
 - 8 These are the dates suggested by Florence Bouchet in the introduction to her translation into modern French *Alain Chartier, Le Quadrilogue Invecitif* (Paris, Champion, 2002), p. 7; J.C. Laidlaw suggests the slightly earlier 1380-90 in *The Poetical works of Alain Chartier*, ed. J.C. Laidlaw (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1974), p. 2; see also J.C. Laidlaw, 'A Historical and Biographical Overview', in *A Companion to Alain Chartier*, ed. D. Delogu, J.E. Macrae and E. Cayley (Leiden, Brill, 2015), pp. 15-32. I am grateful to Emma Cayley for her helpful comments in reading through a draft of the present article.
 - 9 Bouchet, *Le Quadrilogue Invecitif* (2002), p. 49; ed. Bouchet (2011), p. 3.
 - 10 Bouchet, *Le Quadrilogue Invecitif* (2002), p. 49 n. 1.
 - 11 It is thought it was written between 1416 and 1418; see Laidlaw, *The Poetical works of Alain Chartier*, p. 32. The *Livre des Quatres Dames* is published in *The Poetical works of Alain Chartier*, pp. 196-304. At the end of Chartier's life he also left unfinished the *Livre de l'Esperance*, a prosometric allegorical dialogue which despite its title, offers a melancholic reflection on the times; F. Rouy (ed), *Le Livre de l'Esperance* (Paris, Champion, 1989). Bouchet suggests the unalleviated pessimism may be because of the unfinished nature of the text, see *Le Quadrilogue Invecitif* (2002), p. 9; A. Tarnowski, 'Alain Chartier's Singularity, or How Sources Make and Author', in *A Companion to Alain Chartier*, pp. 33-56 (52-56), argues, however, that there is no gradual infusion of hope into the text. On this text in the context of late medieval debate poetry see also, C. Attwood,

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- Dynamic Dichotomy The Poetic 'I' in Fourteenth- and Fifteenth-Century French Lyric Poetry* (Amsterdam, Rodopi, 1998), pp. 209-216. The *Quadrilogue Invecitif* and the *Livre d'Espérance* were also translated into Middle English; see *Fifteenth-century English translations of Alain Chartier's Le Traité de l'espérance and Le quadrilogue invecitif*, ed. M.S. Blayney, 2 vols (Oxford, Oxford University Press for the Early English Text Society) 1974, 1980); on the reception of Chartier's texts in England see C. Nall, 'William Worcester reads Alain Chartier, *Le Quadrilogue Invecitif* and its English Readers', *Chartier in Europe*, ed. E. Cayley and A. Kinch (Cambridge, D.S. Brewer, 2008), pp. 135-147 (p. 135); J. Boffey, 'The Early Reception of Chartier's Works in England and Scotland', *Chartier in Europe*, pp. 105-16.
- 12 Laidlaw suggests this may be an allusion to Charles d'Orléans; see *The Poetical Works of Alain Chartier*, p. 35.
 - 13 J. Laidlaw 'The Manuscripts of Alain Chartier', *Modern Language Review*, 61 (1966), 188-98; see also *Le Quadrilogue Invecitif* ed Bouchet, pp. xxxiv-xxxv.
 - 14 Brussels, Bibliothèque royale MS 11064.
 - 15 A.E. Curry, *The Battle of Agincourt: Sources and Interpretations* (Woodbridge, The Boydell Press, 2000) pp. 350-53; she describes Chartier as 'rabidly anti-Burgundian' (p. 345); Jane Taylor describes the author of *Le Pastoralet* as 'a passionately committed Burgundian', "'Flables couvertes": Poetry and Performance in the Fifteenth Century', in *Cultural Performances in Medieval France: Essays in Honor of Nancy Freeman Regalado*, ed. E. Doss-Quinby, R. L. Krueger, E.J. Burns (Cambridge, D.S. Brewer, 2007) pp. 45-53 (p. 48).
 - 16 Curry, *The Battle of Agincourt: Sources and Interpretations*, p. 350; ed. Bouchard, pp. 25-28.
 - 17 Ruisseauville was a village near Agincourt. The *Chronique de Ruisseauville*, which includes an account of the events at Agincourt, probably came from the Abbey; Curry, *The Battle of Agincourt: Sources and Interpretations*, pp. 122-27.
 - 18 On his identity see ed. Blanchard, *Le Pastoralet*, pp. 24-25; Blanchard can go no further than to suggest he may have been from the circle of the counts of St-Pol, Joël Blanchard, *La Pastorale en France aux XIV^e et XV^e siècles. Recherches sur les structures de l'imaginaire médiéval* (Paris, Champion, 1983), pp. 197-203. Curry, *The Battle of Agincourt: Sources and Interpretations*, p. 350.
 - 19 E.g. E. Cayley, *Debate and Dialogue: Alain Chartier in his Cultural Context* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 2006); R. Meyenberg, *Alain Chartier prosateur*

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- et l'art de la parole au XVe siècle: études littéraires et rhétoriques* (Berne, Franke, 1992).
- 20 Daisy Delogu discusses the *Quadrologue* in a chapter on 'Envisioning the Body Politic before and after the Treaty of Troyes', in *Allegorical Bodies: Power and Gender in Late Medieval France* (Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 2015, pp. 142-52).
 - 21 Bouchet, *Le Quadrologue Invectif* (2002), p. 21.
 - 22 Curry, *The Battle of Agincourt: Sources and Interpretations*, p. 345; B.K. Altmann, 'Alain Chartier's *Livre des Quatre Dames* and the Mechanics of Allegory', in *Chartier in Europe*, ed. Cayley and Kinch, pp. 61-72 (p. 65) discusses the way Chartier uses the conventional and codified norms of the courtly love debate to address the political reality of post-Agincourt France.
 - 23 Cicero's *Somnium Scipionis*, Scipio's Dream, was well known in the Middle Ages. C. Marchello-Nizia, 'Entre l'histoire et la poétique: le songe politique', *Revue des Sciences humaines*, 183 (1981), 39-53 notes that in a short space of time (between 1378, the date of the *Songe du vergier*, and 1422, that of the *Quadrologue Invectif*) a significant amount of vernacular writing 'dans la domaine de la théorie ou de la critique politique' was in the form of a dream (p.40); see also Joël Blanchard, *La Pastorale en France*.
 - 24 On Chartier's debate poetry see Cayley, *Debate and Dialogue*; Catherine Attwood, *Dynamic Dichotomy*, pp. 193-206; Attwood notes that in the *Livre des Quatre Dames* the third lady asks for the poet-narrator to judge between the ladies; he refers the judgement to his lady, and the judgement is not in fact given, pp. 196-7, p. 202.
 - 25 Tarnowski, 'Alain Chartier's Singularity', p. 33, writes of Chartier as a witness rather than a participant; in the *Quadrologue* he is, however, an agent by virtue of observing and writing.
 - 26 Kelly, *The Medieval Imagination*, *passim*, especially pp. xi-xvi and pp. 45-56.
 - 27 The figure of France as a lady was very familiar; it is for example, found in the 1276 *Grandes Chroniques de France*, Bouchet, *Le Quadrologue Invectif* (2002), p. 17; Mühlethaler writes of the personification of France as the incarnation of 'the awakening of political consciousness on the part of those who wrote under Charles VI', J.-C. Mühlethaler, 'Alain Chartier, Political Writer', in *A Companion to Alain Chartier*, pp. 163-180 (p. 164); Mühlethaler stresses that France in Chartier's text is not just a lady, but a tearful mother (p. 175). On the presence of a female representation of France in the fourteenth century, at a time when the principal of female exclusion from real royal power was being enshrined in law see Delogu, *Allegorical Bodies*.
 - 28 Delogu, *Allegorical Bodies*, p. 7.

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- 29 Brown, 'Allegorical Design', pp. 389-91; Laidlaw, 'The manuscripts of Alain Chartier'.
- 30 *Le Quadriologue Invectif*, ed. Bouchet (2011), p. 10, *Le Quadriologue Invectif*, trans. Bouchet (2002), p. 57.
- 31 Bouchet, *Le Quadriologue Invectif* (2002), p. 57 n.18.
- 32 In the Middle French this garment is described as *mantel ou paille*. Bouchet, *Quadriologue Invectif* (2002), p. 57, n.21, has noted the liturgical connotations of this last term which could be used to refer to the *pallium* or stole used by the clergy, the significance of this being that France is thus endowed with a sacred aura. See also Bouchet, 'Vox Dei, vox poetarum: the Bible in the *Quadriologue Invectif*', in *Chartier in Europe*, ed. E. Cayley and A. Kinch (Cambridge, D. S. Brewer, 2008), pp. 31-44 (p. 35); for a more developed version of this article in French see 'Vox Dei, vox poetarum: La Bible dans le *Quadriologue Invectif*', *Le Moyen Âge*, 106 (2010), 37-50.
- 33 Daisy Delogu links this figured mantle to the clothing of Nature in Alain de Lille's *Plaint of Nature*, *Allegorical Bodies*, p. 146.
- 34 Translations into English are my own.
- 35 He had possibly been using the fleurs de lys as well as the three lions passant gardant of England since shortly after his succession in 1327; A. Ailes, 'Heraldry in Medieval England: Symbols of politics and propaganda', in *Heraldry, Pageantry and Social Display*, ed. Coss and Keen, pp. 83-104 (p. 89); on the fleurs de lys as a symbol of France see also M. Pastoureau, *Une Histoire symbolique du Moyen Âge occidental* (Paris, Seuil, 2004), pp. 110-12 and C. Beaune, *The Birth of an Ideology: Myths and Symbols of Nation in Late-Medieval France*, trans. S. Ross Huston, ed. F. L. Cheyette (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1991), pp. 210-25.
- 36 A. Ailes, 'The Attributed Arms of Charlemagne' paper given at the Académie Héraldique Internationale conference, August, 2015; a version of this paper will be published on the web-site of the 'Charlemagne: A European Icon' project. Pastoureau, *Une histoire symbolique*, p.118, suggests an echo in the *fleurdelisé* robes of 'un manteaux semé d'étoiles'; such a resemblance can certainly be seen in the images of Charlemagne in British Library, Royal 15 E VI where in some illuminations Charlemagne's mantle is semé of stars rather than *fleurs de lys*. Serchuk emphasises the similarity between the depictions of France in the illuminated manuscripts and 'contemporary Marian types in French art', C. Serchuk, 'The Illuminated manuscripts of Alain Chartier', *A Companion to Alain Chartier*, pp. 73-118, p. 97.
- 37 On the significance of the colour blue see M. Pastoureau *Blue: The History of a Color*, trans. M.I. Cruse (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 2001), especially pp. 85-121; on its association with state and government see pp. 142-43 and on blue in royal coats of arms see pp. 60-63; see also

- Pastoureau, *Une histoire symbolique*, pp. 117-120. BnF fr 24441 is unusual in that the three parts of the mantle have different coloured background, though blue still dominate as France is also wearing an robe decorated with fleurs de lys; an image from this manuscript is published in *A Companion to Alain Chartier* p. 92. One manuscript, BnF fr 19127 uses a *grisaille* palette for most of the images but the first, of France alone, depicts her in a blue *fleurdelisé* dress; see Serchuk, 'The Illuminated manuscripts', pp. 95-97.
- 38 Bouchet, *Le Quadrilogue Invectif* (2002), p. 59, n. 23 comments on the fact that it is difficult to depict visually both the glory of France and its current fallen state and most MS illuminations depict only one – or resort to two different images.
- 39 Delogu, *Allegorical Bodies*, p. 146 considers it to be a representation of France.
- 40 See Bouchet, *Le Quadrilogue Invectif* (2002), p. 60, n. 24; Bouchet refers to Pastoureau, *les Emblèmes de la France* (Paris, Bonneton, 1998) pp. 91-95 and 121-35.
- 41 For a discussion of the difference between incarnation and exemplification see Quilligan, *The Language of Allegory* pp. 127-128.
- 42 Bouchet, *Le Quadrilogue Invectif* (2002), p. 28, n.33.
- 43 Altmann, 'Alain Chartier's *Livre des Quatre Dames*', p. 68 ; Altmann goes on to state (p. 69) that 'the bereft ladies function more like Peuple, Chevalier and Clergie – they can be read as one of the collective children of a France in mourning'; as the *Quatre Dames* pre-dates the *Quadrilogue*, I prefer to word it in reverse and suggest that the sons of France in the *Quadrilogue* function allegorically in a similar way to the bereft ladies in the *Livre des Quatre Dames*; in each case the individual character represents a group of real living individuals. Quintillian discusses a 'type of allegory which consists in Examples', *The Orator's Education*, VIII. 6 (trans. p. 455). Chartier uses a similar technique of exemplification in *Le Débat du Hérault, du Vassault et du Villain*, edited in *The Poetical Works*, pp. 421- 35, but the herald exemplifies not just heralds as a body, but the chivalric perspective; on this text see Mühlethaler, 'Alain Chartier, Political Writer', pp. 170-71. In this text, too, Chartier shows an awareness of the extent to which ordinary people, exemplified here by the *Villain*, suffer in hard times. This poem is of uncertain date but Laidlaw points out that references to the English suggest that it most likely dates from sometime after 1415 (*The Poetical works*, p. 37).
- 44 Brown, 'Allegorical Design', p. 388.
- 45 Taylor, "Flables couvertes", pp. 45-53; in her analysis of a poetry competition within the text Taylor demonstrates clearly that the author of

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- Le Pastoralet* is capable of giving his characters distinct poetic voices. On the different voices in Chartier's *Quadrilogue* see Bouchet (2002), p. 24.
- 46 Bouchet, 'The Bible' pp. 36-37.
- 47 A helpful analysis of Chartier's language in a short extract of the *Quadrilogue Invecitif* can be found in W. Ayres-Bennett, *A History of the French Language through Texts* (London, Routledge, 1996), pp. 108-113; see also Bouchet (2011), pp. XLI - LIX; Bouchet 'The Bible', p. 37 comments on 'the *a priori* unrealistic eloquence of People'.
- 48 As he does his *dame and chevalier* in his most famous work, *la Belle Dame sans merci* published in Laidlaw, *The Poetical works of Alain Chartier*, pp. 332-60.
- 49 On his identity see above n. 22; see also Bouchard, *Le Pastoralet*, pp. 24-25.
- 50 K. de Lettenhove, *Chroniques relatives à l'histoire de la Belgique sous la domination des ducs de Bourgogne*, 3 vols (Brussels, 1870-76).
- 51 Taylor describes it as 'if not the first, then certainly one of the earliest, of political *romans à clef*'; Taylor, "Flables couvertes" p. 48; the *Livre des Quatre Dames* has also been read in this way, Laidlaw, *The Poetical works*, pp. 35-36; see also Laidlaw, 'A Historical and Biographical Overview', p.25; Altmann, however, considers that 'the temptation to try to identify the knights with historical figures is... perhaps ultimately unproductive', 'Alain Chartier's *Livre des Quatre Dames*', p. 63.
- 52 Blanchard, *La Pastorale en France*, pp. 44-89.
- 53 See Curry, *The Battle of Agincourt: Sources and Interpretations*, p. 350.
- 54 For example Ambroise, the late twelfth-century chronicler of the Third Crusade begins his text with the comment 'I want to get right to my subject for it is a story that should be told'; *The History of the Holy War: Ambroise's 'Etoire de la Guerre Sainte*, ed. M. Ailes and M. Barber (Boydell and Brewer, Woodbridge, 2003), 2 vols: vol. II 'The Translation', p. 29.
- 55 Lines 6118-6132; for analysis see Blanchard *La Pastorale en France* pp. 188-89. These are not the only meaningful dreams in the poem; earlier Léonet has dreamt of the death of Tristifer (ll.2452-2470) – a dream which he himself causes to be fulfilled, as in reality Louis d'Orléans was murdered on 23 November 1407 under the orders of the Duke of Burgundy; for analysis see Blanchard, pp. 176-77.
- 56 *Le Pastoralet*, ed. Bouchard, p. 31.
- 57 On the relationship between the Queen and Louis, see below n. 65.
- 58 *Le Pastoralet*, ed. Bouchard, n. 35.
- 59 *Le Pastoralet*, ed. Bouchard, n. 37.
- 60 *Le Pastoralet*, ed. Bouchard, p. 31.
- 61 *Le Pastoralet*, ed. Bouchard, p. 31.

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- 62 *Le Pastoralet*, ed. Bouchard, pp. 31-2.
- 63 *Le Pastoralet*, ed. Bouchard, p. 34.
- 64 *Le Pastoralet*, ed. Blanchard, p.32 ; on *erreurs ou déformations volontaires* more generally, see pp. 31-34; on the treatment of historical fact see also *La Pastorale en France*, pp. 217-224.
- 65 T. Adams, *The Life and Afterlife of Isabeau of Bavaria*. (Baltimore, Johns Hopkins University Press, 2010); T. Adams, 'Notions of Late medieval Queenship: Christine de Pisan's Isabeau of Bavaria', *The Rule of Women in Early Modern Europe*, ed. A.J. Cruz and M. Suzuki (Chicago, University of Illinois Press, 2009), pp. 13-29; B. Schnerb, *Les Armagnacs et les Bourguignons. La maudite guerre* (Paris, 1988).
- 66 This is the focus of the article by Taylor, "Flabes couvertes"; Blanchard discusses the conflicting presence of reality behind the exchange, *La Pastorale en France*, pp. 164-65.
- 67 There is an allusion to this tradition in Chartier's *Livre des quatre Dames* when the narrator, in his melancholic wanderings comes across 'une pastoure et un pastour' kissing (ll.160-61). In *Le Pastoralet* the poet does not hide his condemnation of the love affair.
- 68 Blanchard, *La Pastorale en France*, p. 204; on p. 187 he has already stated: Or cette intervention constitue bien une digression'.
- 69 See also the English translation of part of the text, Curry, *The Battle of Agincourt: Sources and Interpretations*, p. 352.
- 70 On the repeated evocation of the *locus amoenus* see Blanchard, *La Pastorale en France*, pp. 169-70.
- 71 Quilligan, *The Language of Allegory*, p. 16, writes of the reader's need to do just this, balance the familiar and the strange.
- 72 Quilligan, *The Language of Allegory*, p. 17.
- 73 Bouchet (2002), p.74; *Idem*, 'The Bible', pp. 36-37.
- 74 For a brief summary of the Clergie's injunctions see J. Laidlaw, 'A Historical and Biographical Overview', in *A Companion to Alain Chartier*, p. 28.
- 75 Kelly, *The Medieval Imagination*, p. 191.
- 76 Bouchet, *Le Quadrilogue Invectif* (2002), p. 49 ; ed. Bouchet (2011), p. 3.
- 77 Bouchet, *Vox Dei, vox poetæ*, in *Chartier in Europe*, p. 31.
- 78 *Chartier in Europe* ed. Cayley and Kinch; see particularly Nall, 'William Worcester', pp. 135-147 (p. 135). The value of the work for moral as well as political purposes is seen in the fact that a manuscript of a Middle English version was found in a monastic library, see Nall, 'William Worcester', p. 140; see also Boffey, 'The Early Reception of Chartier's Works. On the one Illuminated Middle English manuscript, Oxford University College MS 85, see K.L. Scott, *A Survey of Manuscripts Illuminated in the British*

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- Isles: Later Gothic Manuscripts 1390-1490*, 2 vols (London, Harvey Miller, 1996), II, pp. 318-20.
- 79 Blanchard, *La Pastorale en France*, pp. 161-97.
- 80 Bishop, *Pearl*, p. 63, writes of allegory as 'veiling of intention or thought', which is hardly the case here.
- 81 Bishop, *Pearl*, p.68 describes *aenigma* as rendering 'the visible invisible' and at the opposite pole a kind of allegory which makes the invisible visible. *Le Pastoralet* is rather the 'intermediate kind of allegory' in which the interest lies in the interplay of 'vehicle' and 'tenor'... whether the relationship between the thing signified and the image or idea that signifies it consists of a happy congruity or a felicitous or catachrestical incongruity, it has the effect of making us look at the subject from an unusual or oblique point of view and of causing us to think in a new way about something that may be familiar or even commonplace', Bishop, *Pearl*, p. 71.
- 82 Marchello-Nizia, 'Entre l'histoire et la poétique', p. 40. Her texts are the *Songe du Vergier* (1378) ; the *Songe de Pestilence* (1379) and the *Songe du Vieil Pèlerin* of Philippe de Mézières. See also Delogu, *Allegorical Bodies*, p. 145.
- 83 Bouchet, 'Vox Dei, vox poetæ'.
- 84 Brown, 'Allegorical Design', p. 386.
- 85 Bouchet, *Quadrilogue Invectif* (2002), p. 124.